

## Message Text

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61/40

ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ADP-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01

USIA-15 OMB-01 EB-11 COME-00 SSO-00 RSR-01 /106 W

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R 241029Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5061

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

CINCPAC

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KUALA LUMPUR 3776

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

DEPT PASS USLO PEKING

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARS 1 & 6)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MY, NON-ALIGNED CONF, UN, KS, KN, CH

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER RAZAK ON NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE,  
KOREAN ITEM IN UNGA AND PRC RELATIONS

REF: A. KUALA LUMPUR 3717 NOTAL

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B. KUALA LUMPUR 3729 NOTAL

C. KUALA LUMPUR 3067 NOTAL

1. SUMMARY: IN TOUR D'HORIZON AUGUST 23 PRIME MINISTER RAZAK TOLD ME THAT WHILE HE GOES TO ALGIERS CONFERENCE WITH NO ENTHUSIASM, RECOGNIZING LITTLE IF ANY OF VALUE IS LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM THIS GATHERING, HE CONSIDERS IT IMPORTANT THAT HE AND HIS DELEGATION REGISTER STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD OPPOSING THE SEATING OF GRUNK AND PRG DELEGATIONS. THESE STATEMENTS, WHICH WILL BE MADE AT DIFFERENT LEVELS BY HIMSELF AND GHAZALI SHAFIE, WILL ALSO FOCUS ON THE ISSUE OF CONSENSUS. HE EXPECTS THE GRUNK AND PRG DELEGATIONS TO BE SEATED AT ALGIERS, BUT AT LEAST THE GOM POSITION, WHICH HAS BEEN COORDINATED WITH ADAM MALIK WHO WILL MAKE A SIMILAR STATEMENT, WILL REGISTER THE VIEWS OF THE NON-COMMUNIST SOUTHEAST ASIAN COUNTRIES. RAZAK ALSO SAID THAT WHILE GOM WOULD SEEK TO AVOID TAKING SIDES ON ISSUES WHERE THERE WAS A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN THE TWO KOREAS, HE CONSIDERED THE "TWO KOREA" FORMULA AS ADVANCED BY THE ROK SPECIAL EMISSARY TO BE EMINENTLY REASONABLE. HE SAID THAT IF THE NORTH KOREANS CONTINUE TO OPPOSE THIS FORMULA, HE ASSUMES THERE WOULD BE AN INITIATIVE TO SEAT THE ROK SEPARATELY. HE IMPLIED THAT GOM WOULD PROBABLY SUPPORT THIS ACTION. ON QUESTION OF PRC RECOGNITION, PRIME MINISTER SAID THAT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ARE UNLIKELY TO BE ESTABLISHED BEFORE NEXT YEAR. DIALOGUE IN NEW YORK WITH CHINESE HAS GROUND TO A HALT ON THE ISSUE OF THE STATUS OF THE STATELESS CHINESE. HOWEVER, THE PRIME MINISTER EXPECTS THAT MALAYSIA WILL BE FIRST ASEAN COUNTRY TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS, POSSIBLY EARLY NEXT YEAR. END SUMMARY.

2. I HAD A LONG CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER RAZAK AT HIS HOME YESTERDAY EVENING DURING WHICH HE GAVE HIS FRANK VIEWS ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES, THREE OF WHICH ARE DETAILED IN THIS TELEGRAM. OTHER TOPICS OF LESS GENERAL INTEREST WILL BE TREATED IN SEPARATE TELEGRAMS.

3. NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE: RAZAK SAID THAT HE WOULD BE SPENDING THE BARE MINIMUM TIME AT ALGIERS, HOPEFULLY NO  
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MORE THAN TWO DAYS, SINCE HE DID NOT WISH TO GET ENTANGLED IN THE ENDLESS, NON-CONSTRUCTIVE ARGUMENTATION OF THAT SESSION. HE NOTED, JOCULARLY, THAT BOTH TAN SRI GHAZALI SHAFIE AND AMBASSADOR P.G. LIM WERE HIGHLY ARTICULATE AND, IF NECESSARY, LITIGIOUS SPOKESMEN WHO COULD HOLD THEIR OWN WITH THE AFRICANS AND OTHERS AT ALGIERS.

4. HE REVEALED THAT THE SPECIAL ENVOY OF ROK PRESIDENT

PARK (REF B) HAD INFORMED HIM OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NORTH KOREANS WOULD PROBABLY BE SENDING OBSERVERS TO ALGIERS AND WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY SEEK TO BE SEATED. THE SOUTH KOREAN HAD REQUESTED RAZAK TO OPPOSE THIS ACTION. RAZAK RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS LITTLE ANYONE COULD DO TO BEAT DOWN THESE OBSERVERS WHO WERE SEEKING ADMISSION. HIS BEST ADVICE TO THE SOUTH KOREAN WAS TO PLAY THE SAME GAME, SEND AN OBSERVER MISSION TO ALGIERS AND ALSO REQUEST TO BE SEATED.

5. RAZAK SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT PRESIDENT SUHARTO HAD DECIDED NOT TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE. HE COMMENTED THAT THE STATEMENTS THE GOM AND GOI DELEGATIONS WOULD MAKE ON THE SEATING AND CONSENSUS ISSUES WOULD BE GREATLY STRENGTHENED IF SUHARTO WERE IN ATTENDANCE.

6. COMMENT: I TOOK THE OCCASION TO BRIEF RAZAK ON OUR VIEWS OF THE ALGIERS CONFERENCE (REF A AND PREVIOUS) AND LEFT WITH HIM AN AIDE-MEMOIRE. HIS PLANNED FORMAL STATEMENT WILL PUT MALAYSIA CLEARLY ON RECORD ON GRUNK AND PRG SEATING ISSUE. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES I CONSIDER THE POSITION THAT RAZAK WILL TAKE TO BE ABOUT THE BEST WE MIGHT HAVE HOPED FOR.

7. KOREA: THE KOREAN PROBLEM WAS VERY MUCH ON RAZAK'S MIND, SINCE HE HAD ONLY AN HOUR OR SO BEFORE MY ARRIVAL MET WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF NORTH KOREA, THE PRESENT DPRK AMBASSADOR TO INDONESIA. RAZAK HAD BEEN ASKED TO SUPPORT NORTH KOREA'S OPPOSITION TO THE TWO-KOREA FORMULA. THE PRIME MINISTER SAID HE HAD PROBED THE NORTH KOREAN AS TO WHAT ALTERNATIVE HE HAD IN MIND. HE HAD BEEN TOLD THAT NORTH KOREA WISHED FIRST TO CREATE A KOREAN CONFEDERATION BEFORE SEEKING ENTRANCE INTO THE UN. IN RESPONSE TO RAZAK'S QUERY WHAT THIS ENTAILED, THE NORTH KOREAN SAID THAT WHAT WAS  
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ENVISAGED WAS A BROAD REPRESENTATIVE BODY REPRESENTING ALL LEVELS OF OPINION IN KOREA. RAZAK COMMENTED TO ME THAT HE COULD NOT SEE MUCH SENSE IN THIS PROPOSAL, AND HE HAD TOLD THE NORTH KOREAN IN THE FRANKEST TERMS THAT HE THOUGHT THE DPRK WAS MISGUIDED IN OPPOSING THE TWO-KOREA FORMULA WHICH WAS LIKELY TO RECEIVE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT IN THE UNGA SINCE IT WAS IN ACCORD WITH THE GERMAN FORMULA AND SEEMED TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS FOR THE TWO KOREAS TO CONTINUE THEIR OWN DIALOGUE TOWARDS EVENTUAL UNIFICATION.

8. RAZAK ASKED ME IF THE TWO-KOREA FORMULA SHOULD ABORT BECAUSE OF THE OPPOSITION OF NORTH KOREA, WOULD SOUTH KOREA THEN ATTEMPT GAIN ADMISSION TO THE UN SEPARATELY. I TOLD HIM I HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY SUCH PLAN. HE SAID HE WOULD CONSIDER THAT A REASONABLE POSITION AND INDICATED THAT IF THE

NORTH KOREANS WERE NOT INTERESTED IN GAINING ADMISSION TO THE  
UN, THERE WAS NO REASON TO DEPRIVE THE SOUTH KOREANS.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED USLO PEKING.

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ACTION SS-15

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ADP-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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USIA-15 OMB-01 EB-11 COME-00 RSR-01 SSO-00 /106 W

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R 241029Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5062

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

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AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

CINCPAC

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 KUALA LUMPUR 3776

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

DEPT PASS USLO PEKING

9. RAZAK NOTED HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS TO CARRY ON SENSIBLE  
DIALOGUE WITH COMMUNIST REPRESENTATIVES. HE SAID HE FOUND IT  
DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THE REASONS FOR THEIR STATED POSITIONS.  
THEY SEEM TO SPEAK IN SLOGANS AND HEADLINES, BUT THE ARGU-

MENTATION LACKED THE KIND OF LOGICAL ANALYSIS THAT WAS NORMALLY EXPECTED. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAD MET A NUMBER OF NORTH KOREANS AND THOUGHT THEY WERE BASICALLY ABLE MEN. HE WAS ALSO IMPRESSED BY MOST OF THE SOUTH KOREANS HE HAD MET.

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HE SAID IT WAS A PITY THAT SUCH GIFTED PEOPLE COULD NOT BEGIN TO BURY THEIR DIFFERENCES.

10. COMMENT: I PRESENTED OUR VIEWS ON THE KOREAN ISSUE, INCLUDING ON UNCURK AND UNC. RAZAK APPEARED TO BE LESS THAN WELL BRIEFED ON THESE LATTER SUBJECTS. HE AGREED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN A PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN KOREA. I LEFT WITH HIM AN AIDE-MEMOIRE INCORPORATING POINTS MADE IN REF. B.

11. PRC: RAZAK TOLD ME THAT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PRC ARE UNLIKELY TO BE ESTABLISHED BEFORE EARLY NEXT YEAR. DIALOGUE IN NEW YORK WITH THE CHINESE HAS GROUND TO A HALT ON THE ISSUE OF STATELESS CHINESE IN MALAYSIA. RAZAK EXPLAINED THAT MOST OF THESE PEOPLE, ROUGHTLY 200,000 OF THEM, HAVE PERMANENT RESIDENCE RIGHTS IN MALAYSIA, WHICH GIVES THEM ALL THE TANGIBLE ATTRIBUTES OF CITIZENSHIP. GOM WANTS A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING FROM THE PRC THAT MALAYSIAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER THESE PEOPLE IS RECOGNIZED. "OTHERWISE," SAID RAZAK, "HOW CAN WE BE SURE THAT THESE 200,000 CHINESE WOULD NOT TURN OUT TO BE CONSTITUENTS OF THE CHINESE EMBASSY IN MALAYSIA?" (GOM RECALLS DIFFICULTIES BRITISH FACED IN 1948 WHEN GRC CONGEN PLAYED AGGRESSIVE ROLE AS SPOKESMAN FOR AND PROTECTOR OF THESE SAME CHINESE.)

12. ANOTHER LOOSE END, SAID RAZAK, IS THE POSITION OF THE PRC TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST INSURGENCIES IN MALAYSIA. RAZAK DOUBTED THAT THE CHINESE COULD GO MUCH FARTHER THAN THEY HAVE ON THIS ISSUE, BUT NEVERTHELESS THE GOM WOULD CONTINUE TO PROBE AND TO PRESSURE THEM INTO A PUBLIC POSTURE OF "HANDS OFF" THE INSURGENT MOVEMENTS.

13. RAZAK SAID IT WAS STILL LIKELY THAT MALAYSIA WOULD BE THE FIRST OF THE ASEAN GROUP TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH PEKING. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT INDONESIANS WOULD BE UNLIKELY

TO TAKE THIS STEP BEFORE 1975 AND THAT THE THAI HAD APPARENTLY MADE UP THEIR MINDS TO LIMIT THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PRC TO A TRADE REPRESENTATION.

LYDMAN

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED USLO PEKING.

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